1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

difference between friends'. Moreover, economic pressure can be brought to produce social conformity and curb the heretic. In the case of a shopkeeper whose private life was open to suspicion, he found that his customers had gradually deserted him, and he had to search for work in town. Part of the village efforts to establish a new mill were provoked not only by the raising of the charges by the owners, but also by the fact that one of them had been accused of fomenting intrigues between the villagers. This added fuel to the mill's campaign 'to ruin the house of such a man'.

No study of the fellah's nutrition and its connection with cultural values has been made. The following remarks about diet in Silwa are appropriate; they are, however, inadequate as such a question requires a special enquiry by itself.

The villager has no concept of a balanced diet apart from a filling or a delicious meal. Meals, especially dinners, are often better provided after the reaping of the new harvest when food would be plentiful, and meat could be bought, while gradually the meals become poorer and meat is rarely served. It is said that 'one good meal a year is a support like a stick' in justifying one expensive meal whenever possible. Moreover, bread is always preferred to be hot, 'just coming from the oven', which means an arduous task to the housewives, as the provision of cooked food is an important part of their matrimonial duties. One of my female relatives told me that she knows of two cases where a husband had to divorce his wife because she seldom provided him with freshly-baked bread or hot 'ghamoos'—a cooked vegetable in which he can dip the bread.

The preparation and cooking of a meal is associated largely with certain kinship and neighbourly obligations. Relatives might help each other in picking the odd stones or foreign matter from the seeds before sending them to the mill, help in sieving the flour or in baking. If a woman bakes her bread in a hot oven of a neighbour (a device for saving fuel), she has to offer one of the children a loaf of bread. Neighbours and relatives might borrow loaves of bread from a woman who has just baked. After baking, a woman may send a loaf or loaves of bread to a widowed relative or send a 'dwaga'—bread to be tasted—from the newly-harvested crop.

As a rule, the villagers take three meals a day—breakfast (fatour), lunch (ghada), and an evening meal, at sunset (asha). But farmers occasionally eat between the meals anything available, which they call 'ijalla', i.e. the food that does not precipitate the next meal.

An evening meal, especially a well-prepared one, is certainly the apex of the day's work, the reward and joy for the day's efforts and toil.[1] The gathering round the table—'tablia'—for the evening meal, reflects the family unity, its hierarchy, and its discipline. The father and the children sit on the mat or on the bed round the low table to eat from one dish. If there is meat, it is the father who distributes it, giving each child his or her share, a larger portion to the older boys and less to the younger, and the

[1] For such feeling and attitude towards food, see R. Firth, *We, The Tikopia*, p. 33.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

be explained as a result of the cultural pressure for a large family, the achievement of which is threatened by the high death rate among children. Parents feel that they have done their duty towards the child's care immediately he is able to walk and talk, and the rest of his development is left to God's protection. Moreover, the relatively low mortality rate amongst sucklings in Silwa is due to the fact that they depend mainly upon their mother's milk, while after weaning, adult food is given to the children which cannot be an adequate substitute for the mother's milk because of its unsuitability and deficiency. Yet it must be noted here that children in the province of Aswan are very much undernourished compared with the normal healthy development of other more fortunate children. They are ten centimetres (about 4 inches) less in height, and five kilograms (about 12 pounds) less in weight, and the percentage of haemoglobin in their blood is only 40 per cent.[1]

A third important characteristic of this period of childhood is the integration of the boy or the girl with the play group and age mates. About the age of three, the child's attachment to his mother is expected to be over, and this means gradually increasing its contacts with its age group outside the household, and thus the child directs itself, first to its elder siblings and relatives, and then gradually to other children in its play activities. The child may be led by hand or straddled on the shoulder by an older sister to watch other children playing, or taken to defaecate where other children do the same thing. The authority of the older sibling plays a dominant part in shaping the child's attitudes from now onwards. The older sisters or brothers act as guardians for their younger siblings; they soothe them when they cry, protect them from interference from other boys or girls. While older boys are playing, one might hear one of them saying: 'Your brother is crying, and I'll have nothing to do with him, you are his brother and you should quieten him.' It is accepted that if the older brothers and sisters are about, other boys and girls hardly ever interfere with the younger siblings for fear of being blamed for their crying or injury. It must be pointed out here that boys are usually less burdened with the care of their younger brothers compared with girls, and this is probably one of the reasons that gives the boys freer scope for movement and rough play.

The younger boys and girls form the fringe of their older siblings' play-groups, but gradually they start to form their own groups, and imitate their elders. One finds that younger boys of five or six might be playing with their older brothers in one game, but one hardly finds boys of eight or nine in the same play group as their older brothers of the age of twelve, thirteen or fourteen. On the whole, siblings after the age of seven or eight usually prefer to go to different places for their games, and till that age, the basis of play is blood relationship and neighbourhood. A stranger boy who wants to join other children in their play is either introduced to the

[1] Ministry of Health Statistics quoted by M. Khattab, in a speech in the Upper House of Parliament, in *Al-Ahram* (Egyptian daily paper), 26 December 1940.

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

APPENDIX III

In connection with the villager's consumption of food, a few remarks on meat are relevant. Meat is a rare delicacy in his diet, offered usually on festival occasions and always served with wheat bread. One can assess the amount of animal protein consumed by the quantity of meat sold on the market day, the only day, apart from festival occasions, on which the villager can eat meat. People in the village spend comparatively more on their food on market day. In the market there have been for a long time five butchers, each slaughtering on the average three sheep weighing thirty Egyptian pounds, making a total of 450 pounds. If this amount were distributed among a population of 4,450, the weekly *per capita* consumption of meat from the market would be less than one-tenth of a pound, i.e. less than five and a half pounds per year. We may add to this poultry meat, which does not exceed a number of thirty chickens for a family of five throughout the whole year. This works out at six chickens per person a year, each chicken weighing about a pound and a half. Then the total annual consumption of meat per person would be fourteen and a half pounds. This is certainly the maximum *per capita* consumption of meat, as all the chickens in the house are not eaten by its members, for some are sold to buy manufactured goods.[1]

According to the statistics of the Cairo Medical School—Kasr el-Aini—the fellah's diet mainly lacks proteins and fats, the deficiency in the former amounting to 20 per cent, and in the latter to 16 per cent.

[1] Comparable data with regard to standard of living and other points related to livelihood in Silwa could be found in the series of Chinese studies on peasant life in China. Working out such comparisons here will take us outside the frame of reference in this work. Cf. Hsiao-Tung Fei, *Peasant Life in China*, London, 1939; Martin Yang, *A Chinese Village*, London, 1948; Hsiao-Tung Fei and Chih I. Chang, *Earthbound China*, London, 1949.

which the fellaheen enjoy immensely. Beans (*fûl*) are the national dish. Then there are little marrows (*kûsa*), and finally lentils and rice, which are often mixed, one part to two, to make *kushri*. This is their most effective concoction.

For dessert, when they have the opportunity, they eat dates, or bite huge mouthfuls out of slices of water-melon. They may also chew sugar cane, or gnaw maize roasted on the cob.

Place and season afford a certain variety, but there is no wide choice at any one time. The common meal always consists of one dish, to which is often added a piece of *mish*, a coarse, sour kind of cream cheese, made of goat's or *gamoos-sa's* milk preserved in salt water, which is eaten from one end of Egypt to the other.

For flavouring the fellaheen use crude salt from Damietta, and a kind of treacle made by boiling sugar-cane juice. They rarely put manufactured salt or sugar in their ordinary food. On the occasion of a wedding, circumcision, or *mûlid*, they buy plain cakes and red or green sweets, which they find as toothsome as their children do.

The staple food of the fellah is his maize bread (*bettai*). This provides 80% of the calories in his diet, and half the proteins. A grown man will eat three pounds of it a day. It has been calculated that this wholemeal bread contains six times more magnesium than normal baker's bread(1).

The grains of maize are not pounded in a mortar, as millet is by the black peoples of Africa, but ground between two millstones, after the manner used throughout the Near East.

This primitive mill, found also in Morocco, consists of two large flat stone wheels about two feet wide and three inches thick. The one on the ground is fixed, while the upper one turns on a pivot. It is pierced with a central eyelet, into which the grain to be ground is poured. A wooden pin set upright in a hole near the edge of the moveable wheel serves as a turning handle. This grinding, like the other processes of breadmaking, is done by the womenfolk.

The flour, with the addition of a little fenugreek (*helba*), millet, corn or beans, is kneaded on a piece of wood into round, flat cakes, about ten inches across. This dough, cooked in the household oven, produces a golden brown bread with a very pleasant taste, made of two soft crusts